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18 October 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: George A. Carver. Jr., SAVA

SUBJECT: ONE Review of CIA Briefings on Indochina for Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1959-71

- 1. With a single exception, the various statements and transcripts are generally consistent in content and tone with the numerous SNIEs and NIEs prepared during the 1959-71 period.
- 2. The exception is not a clearcut case but the differences may be significant to the Director. In brief: During the March 13, 1970 briefing on Laos -- which ranged over related subjects as well -- Senator Javits asked the Director if the Agency had "made an estimate of the consequences of the withdrawal" (of US combat forces from South Vietnam). The Director's response, though qualified somewhat, was in the negative. (See pp. 61-62 of the official transcript.) In our review of related estimates, we found that SNIE 14.3-70 ("The Outlook from Hanoi: Factors Affecting North Vietnam's Policy on the War in Vietnam") dated 5 February 1970 -- or a month before the briefing in question -- did discuss at some length the policy of Vietnamization and its likely impact on Hanoi's thinking. (See pp. 2-3, 7-10, and 18 of Estimate.)
  - 3. Some other comments which might be of use to you:
  - a. Of the testimony prior to 1968, there is very little of value on Indochina for the Committee Staff to explore. Exceptions are the 10 October 1963 transcript on the situation in South Vietnam just prior to Diem's removal (which accords well with Estimates of the period, but is hardly meaty enough for appetites whetted by the "Pentagon Papers"); and the 28 February 1966 transcript -- or at least the portion on communist use of Cambodian soil.

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- b. On the other hand, there is much of value in the testimony offered since the beginning of 1968, except for the most recent 15 May 1971 transcript which contains little on the Indochinese problem.
- c. I assume that the Committee Staff could supplement all this material with its own voluminous proceedings (published and unpublished) of October and November 1969 on Thailand and Laos, and other, more recent, testimony on the war.

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